/76 cont./

When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/123 cont./

797 829 179 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory, about three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

600

1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and progress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175 511 [132] [186] Before the Parapiti missions were organized, those Indians suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the hands of the whites. Father Giannecchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

/306 cont./
797 continually shown (3).

3. A rest is almost imperative after a long stay in the missions, in order to refresh the spirit, because a bow which is always bent breaks, says the Evangelist St. John.

/307/ There is no traveler who does not marvel upon considering the progress of the missions, upon considering the beautiful works of the Indians, when they think that years ago there were impenetrable jungles and bare hills on the site now occupied by the grandiose temple and buildings. As was said by an enlightened Englishman, Protestant in religion, of course, the Catholic missions among the Chiriguano are like oases in the desert, and to see them at a distance stirs who knows what in the heart; even I do not know what I experience when on some journey I again approach and see them in the distance.

The Method

The method established since the beginning of the first founding of the missions cannot be improved upon, in that it looks toward moral and civil progress and has yielded practical results, especially in some missions where, despite the fact that they have been in existence only few years, almost all speak the national language moderately well. Is this not a near prodigy, achieved with a race whose language has no analogy with
000 civilized languages? /The remainder of p. 307 and the first paragraph on p. 308 are omitted. The remainder of p. 308 follows./

167 464 [797] Following the method which has been implanted, the missions progress and would progress further if the Chiriguano were not so changeable. Neither in their towns nor in the neighboring cantons is there any lack of work for them; but rather it is day laborers who are not to be found; they prefer to go far away where they may earn less than here, spending their small gains on things that are useless and harmful to them (1).

• [511] 1. There are neophytes who stay on the haciendas

/308 cont./

167 464 ●511 of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years; they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /ternito/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before; they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

101 167 2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/; they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

799 87 191 177 The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

InNordamHSId E-8/d(1900-1909, 1912) 1920
HP10 Chiriguano HP10
Chaco HP8

Table 20.

Culture element that the Chiriguano and Chaco [illegible] derive from the Witoto.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.

	Chiriguano	Chaco	Distribution favored by natural surroundings	Distribution independent of natural surroundings	Is great in the struggle for existence
Modern hut	+	+	+	—	+
Chair	+	+	/	/	—
Wooden bows	+	—	/	/	—
Sugar-cane	+	+	—	—	—
Water-melon	+	+	+	—	—
Reeds for arrow-shafts (Arundo donax)	+	+	—	—	+
Pellet-bow	+	+	/	—	—
Cattle	+	+	+	—	+
Sheep	+	+	—	—	—
Horses	+	+	+	—	+
Poultry-keeping	+	+	+	—	+
Riding whip stock	+	+	/	/	—
Saddle	+	+	/	/	—
Tinder when striking fire with flint and steel	+	+	/	+	—
Clothes of tanned skin	+	—	—	—	—
Leather-girdle with pocket	+	+	/	/	—
Hairband with tassels	+	+	/	/	—
Strawhats	—	+	/	—	—
Women with pierced ears	+	+	/	+	—
»Bolo(ra)«	+	+	/	+	—
Tube-gamet	+	+	/	+	—
Dice	+	+	/	+	—
»Bilo« (plaything)	+	+	/	+	—
Musical bow	—	+	/	+	—
Flutes with six carefully fitted holes	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets of cow-horn	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets with mouth-piece of reed	—	+	/	+	—
Vessels with lips in rims	+	+	/	+	—
Brasier	+	+	/	+	—
Tanning	+	+	/	+	—
Staff	+	+	/	+	—

[illegible] E-6,√(1908-1909, 1913) 1920

SP10 Chiriguano SP10 ●

Chane SP9

399

Culture element that the Chiriguano and
Chané presumably derived from the Whites.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

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Manufacture calls for technical skill	Man's work	Woman's work	Used by men	Used by women	Used only by children	Still frequently used	Luxury
+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	—	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	—	—	+	—
/	/	/	—	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	—	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	—	—
/	/	/	—	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	?	?	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
+	—	+	—	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	/	/	—	+	—	+	+
+	/	/	+	—	—	—	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	?	?	+	—	—	—	+
—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+
—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	—	+	+	+	—	—	+
+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Table 21.

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané presumably obtained from the Culture Zone in the West.

+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence. / Question not answered.

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	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings	Distribution independent of natural surroundings	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Wooden hook on which to hang their belongings	+	+	/	+	+
Spade (Wooden)	+	+	/	+	+
Bird-net	+	+	/	+	+
Wooden bowl	+	+	/	+	+
Wooden spoon	+	+	/	+	+
Coca	+	+	/	+	+
Poncho-shirt	+	+	/	+	+
Sandal	+	+	/	+	+
Woven girdle	+	+	/	+	+
Frontlet	+	+	/	+	+
Wooden comb	+	+	/	+	+
Pincer	+	+	/	+	+
Topu	+	—	/	+	+
Necklaces of green stones	+	+	/	/	+
Headdress worn by Chiriguano Women on festive occasions	+	—	/	+	—
Vessels which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel	+	+	/	+	—
Chunquanti-game	+	+	/	+	+
Chucareta- »	+	+	/	+	+
Quoits- »	+	—	/	+	+
Long wooden whistle	+	+	/	+	+
Round » »	+	+	/	+	+
Drum	+	+	/	+	+
Vessels provided with ears or handles	+	+	/	+	+
Double pitchers	+	+	/	+	+
Water-pitchers	+	+	/	+	+
Pitchers with a bulging neck	+	+	/	+	+
Calabashes with lids	+	+	/	+	+
Calabashes with burnt in ornamentation	+	+	/	+	+
Peruvian loom	+	—	/	+	+
Bodkin of bone	+	+	/	+	+
Property marks	+	—	/	+	+
Yandugua the parasol of ostrich feathers	+	—	/	/	—

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920

SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané *presumably obtained from the culture zone in the west.*
+Indicates occurrence. —Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

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Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
—	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	/	—
+	—	+	+	—	—	—	+
+	+	?	+	+	—	+	+
+	—	+	+	—	—	+	—
+	—	+	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	+
—	/	/	+	+	—	—	+
+	—	+	—	+	—	—	+
+	—	+	—	+	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
+	—	+	+	+	—	+	—
+	—	+	+	+	—	—	+
+	—	+	+	+	—	+	—
+	—	+	+	+	—	+	+
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+
+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
—	/	/	—	+	—	/	—
—	/	/	+	+	—	/	+
+	/	/	+	—	—	—	+

S:Nordenskiöld E-5/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Table 22.

Northern and Eastern Elements that occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence. / Question not answered.

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	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings	Distribution independent of natural surroundings	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Maize-barns on piles	+	+	—	—	+
Hammock used as a bed	+	+	—	—	—
Seat	+	+	/	+	—
Mandioca	+	+	—	—	—
Urucu	+	+	—	—	—
Bird arrows	+	+	/	+	—
» » (special type fig. 6 E.)	+	+	/	+	—
Snare fixed onto a long rod	—	+	/	+	—
Fish-spear	+	—	—	—	—
Multi-pointed fishing-arrows	+	—	—	—	—
Fishing with poison	+	—	—	—	—
Wooden mortar	—	+	/	—	+
Round-Siege. »Urupe»	+	+	—	—	+
Great pot-spades of wood	+	+	/	+	+
Fire fans of plaited palm leaves	+	+	—	—	—
»Tipoy»	+	+	+	—	+
Rubber-balls	+	+	—	—	—
Souki-game	—	+	/	—	—
Panpipe	?	+	/	—	—
Game with maize-leaf balls	+	—	/	—	—
Vessels ornamented with finger-impressions	+	+	/	+	—
Bakairi-spindle	+	+	/	+	+
Baskets made of a single palm-leaf	+	+	—	—	—
Baskets with overlapping lids	+	+	/	+	—
»Arawak» loom	+	+	/	+	+

51Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920

SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●

Chane SF8

Northern and Eastern Elements That *occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.*
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
+	+	?	+	+	—	+	—
+	—	+	+	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	?	?	?	?	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
+	—	+		+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	/	/	—	—	—
+	+	—	/	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—

C
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/86 cont./

The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting